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ABSTRACT

This guide provides the college teacher with a model for teaching undergraduate college students about the immigrant experience. Students read American literature which includes fiction, drama, and poetry as well as biographies, autobiographies, historical accounts, and other politico-socio-economic literature. The model consists of three dimensions. The first dimension, The Historical, Experiential, and Reading Dimension, focuses on having students study historical, social, and cultural milieu. Students read two books--"Strangers To These Shores: Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States" and "The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics." They are also involved in out of class enrichment activities and in reading, interpreting, and discussing the fictional works. The significance of this dimension is that it deals with historical dimensions by posing the questions: (1) Why is the nature of time and space important? and (2) How does change and development affect the world in which one lives? The second dimension of the model deals with the elements of the immigrant experience and its representation in literature. These elements are thought and ideas, behaviors and actions, and cultural expressions. The third dimension of the model deals with the personal and relational manner in which literature depicts the protagonists and the antagonists. The conflict in fiction helps the students to understand in a relational manner, the character's struggle with the environment, his fellow man, himself, and/or institutions. Five novels are discussed in depth: "Giants in the Earth," "The Jungle," "Christ in Concrete," "Out of the Furnace," and "Studs Lonigan." Themes focusing on the typical American immigrant experience are considered such as superstition, struggles, tenements, failures, and sickness. The appendix gives an outline of the model. (Author/NE)

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THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE AS PORTRAYED IN
AMERICAN LITERATURE:
A THREE DIMENSIONAL TEACHING
MODEL

A Paper Presented At
American Historical Society Annual Meeting
Los Angeles, California

Raouf J. Halaby
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December 1981

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Can one really teach the "immigrant experience in American literature?" Or, better yet, can experiences by the various immigrant groups who have come to the shores of this country be taught in such a manner that today's undergraduate college students can fully appreciate them? It is this author's belief that, using various literary works from the three genres of literature, namely fiction, drama, and poetry as well as biographies, autobiographies, historical accounts, and other politico-socio-economic literature or any combination thereof, one can effectively teach the immigrant experience in American literature.

The term experience as used in this paper refers to all facets of immigrant life, prior to and after arrival to America. Directly related to and expounding upon this term are such concepts as ethnicity, pluralism, ethnography, acculturation, amalgamation, assimilation, marginality, culture shock, and Americanization, to name a few.

My interest in the topic for the Junior level course^{*} stems, partially, from my background. I am a naturalized American citizen who came to America as a young man in search of the great promise which I had heard of and read about in letters from immigrants who preceded me and from various other sources, namely fictional works dealing with immigrant experiences. Society, I suppose, brands me as one who had done well for himself. To others, I represent the ideal of the American dream; after all, having worked my way through undergraduate and graduate schools working as a cook, waiter, construction and factory worker, book salesman, and gas station attendant, among numerous other odd jobs, I have made the initial \$350.00 which my

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mother had sewn in a special belt strap to be worn under my garments go a long way. My primary interest in this topic, however is derived from the meaningful and most rewarding experience which I and eleven other college teachers gained during the summer of 1980 as participants in an N.E.H. Summer Seminar under the topic of "Ethnicity in 20th Century America: A Comparative & Interdisciplinary Approach," directed by Professor R.J. Vecoli, Professor of History and Director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota.

By showing students where their ancestors have come from, a sound understanding of the immigrant experience can be gained. This can be achieved by encouraging the students to analyze and compare their value systems with differing traditional value systems which emphasize group behaviors, attitudes, and impressions. This understanding, I believe, will promote a greater self-understanding and a broader comprehension of the immigrant experience. Carl R. Brown, in his address on the theory of biculturalism and the teaching of English, expounds upon this notion in the following manner:

The way to develop a bicultural/bicognitive [understanding] in students is through a culturally democratic approach to the curriculum, one that focuses attention on the socio-cultural characteristics of the individual learner. Such a curriculum [should] aim not only for inter- but also intra-cultural understanding and acceptance, [as well as] for the development of holistic social and cognitive [comprehension of other cultures and backgrounds.]¹

For this reason I designed my syllabus by emphasizing the fact that pluralism, as a theory, is a very dominant shaping force in the American experience. On the other hand, it was made clear that this pluralistic foundation (as compared to its European counterpart) lacks a tradition of myth, legend, and an ancient shared history. Hence the absence of these ancient collective experiences has made the definition of the American

immigrant experience an elusive one. The two other theories, the Melting Pot Theory and the Theory of Assimilation are expounded upon and discussed thoroughly.

By using a three phased, three dimensional model, I approached the course by putting emphasis on the following: 1) Historical , experiential, and reading dimensions; 2) the dimension of thoughts, behaviours, and cultural expressions; and 3) relational dimension. (See Appendix A for an outline.)

1) Historical, Experiential, and Reading Dimension

A sound comprehension of the historical, social, psychological, and cultural milieu of American and immigrant backgrounds is a very important cornerstone. Two non-fictional books, Vincent N. Parrillo's Strangers to These Shores: Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States and Michael Novak's The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, were selected because they present an excellent overview of the theories and concepts of intergroup relations within a socio-historical modality, including economic and psychological insights as well as majority-minority relations and struggles. Because Parrillo's book provides, in part, an excellent historical overview of cultural orientation and histories of European, African, East European, Mid Eastern, Asian, and Latin American immigrants, the class spent the first month of the semester reading and discussing its contents. The strength of Parrillo's book lies in its definitions of social, theoretical, psychological, and historical terms. These terms are carefully analyzed, discussed (with examples and statistics when applicable), and framed in a historical context in such a manner that it makes the material very readable and informative.

During this first month I supplemented the historical background with readings of a variety of immigrant biographical and autobiographical selections

from Theodore L. Gross' book A Nation of Nations: Ethnic Literature in America. After reading all the fictional works (to be discussed later), Novak's The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics was read last. This book emphasizes the new cultural pluralism and, in Novak's words, "it draws from resources other than Anglo Saxon history and values."² Because of its ability to probe the subtle differences in the ethnic consciousness as it pertains to individual likes, dislikes, and other inhibiting factors of Southern and Eastern European ethnics of the late 1970's, Novak's book presents an excellent continuum for showing how the attempt to streamline our society along one predominant Anglo Saxon model has failed.

2) Enrichment Activities

Throughout the semester, the students are required and directed to take note of news dealing with state and national immigrant concerns and ethnic activities. Because the state of Arkansas ranks sixth nationally in the number of migrant workers, and because Fort Chaffee has become the relocation center for Oriental and Cuban refugees, the students are required to read the newspapers and educate themselves on the economic values of the migrant workers and the relocation problems faced by the Vietnamese and Cuban refugees. The attitudes of local and state groups to the two aforementioned refugee groups are assessed.

The internment of Arkansans of Japanese and German descent in WWII Arkansas internment camps and other racial tensions of the 1957 era are further cited as historical phenomena. Other out-of-class activities which I deem necessary for developing an appreciation for and a comprehension of ethnicity are visits to ethnic festivals such as the German Oktoberfest (Hot Springs, AR), and the International Fest (Little Rock, AR); visits to predominantly ethnic

towns or enclaves such as Tontitown, Arkansas and Chicot County, Arkansas are a part of this out-of-class enrichment activity.

The students are encouraged to visit various churches, a synagogue, and a mosque. Other suggested activities include attending an ethnic wedding, funeral, and a christening; the partaking of ethnic foods; and, finally, attending a naturalization proceeding. I believe the latter to be a most unique and enriching experience. In personal terms, the students are encouraged to study their genealogies and to learn about their ancestors' backgrounds through interviews, family histories, holistic documents, and the like.

3) Reading, Interpreting, and Discussing the fictional works

The fictional works I have chosen are rich in literary-historical tradition and ethnic lore. These works, in the order in which they are read, are Giants in the Earth by O.E. Rolvaag, The Jungle by Upton Sinclair, Christ in Concrete by Pietro Didonato, Out of This Furnace by Thomas Bell, and Studs Lonigan by James Farrell. By meshing history, folklore, and narrative, these novels shed light on America's cultural heritage and thus give the students a more clear comprehension of what they are today by comprehending where they came from. It is essential to point out that because all of the above are based upon authentic history, the students read the fictional works against history itself and evaluate the events in the novels as literature as well as history. This enhances the students' ability to draw some final conclusions about the impact of history and the socio-economic-cultural evolution upon the present.

The above listed entities of historical and social milieu, enrichment activities, and reading, interpreting and discussing the fictional works constitutes one phase of the model. The significance of this phase

is that it deals with historical dimensions by posing the questions:

1) Why is the nature of time and space important? and 2) How does change and development affect the world in which one lives?

The second dimension of the model deals with the elements of the immigrant experience and its representation in literature. These elements are thoughts and ideas, behaviors and actions, and cultural expressions. The latter can be further divided into the cultural expressions and lasting values of institutions, the arts, and communications, namely language and literature.

The third dimension of the model deals with the personal and relational manner in which literature depicts the protagonists and the antagonists. The relational entities can be seen best when the students understand that conflict in fiction serves the purpose of allowing the reader to relate, consciously and unconsciously, to the world of the novel. Hence, conflict in fiction allows the students to understand, in a relational manner, the character's struggle with the environment, his fellow man, himself, and/or institutions (such as the church, society, government, labor unions, or employers).

The five literary works previously cited employ these approaches very well. As will be pointed out later, each of the novels concentrates on one or more issues which are very particular to the respective ethnic group, yet each novel makes a very poignant and lasting comment on the significant role of the immigrant in American fiction.

Presenting Europe as one giant hive, literature about immigrants has depicted them as swarms of people coming to America

Year after year, decade after decade, arriving by the thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions. From every corner of Europe

and from other continents as well, they [came] in search of their particular vision of America. Who they were, what they sought, and what they found here is one of the grand themes and mysteries of the American past. We see them in old photographs as they disembark, carrying trunks, bundles, and valises, bewildered, anxious looks on their faces. For a moment they stare out at us and then they are swallowed up in the vastness of the American continent. 3

These literary works also depict America as a cavernous body with an insatiable desire for labor. Through peristaltic movements, the young and the old, the strong and the weak, the hungry and the well fed, are all crushed, digested, and streamlined into American society.

Rolvaag's Giant's in the Earth has been acclaimed by some critics as a fictional work of epic stature. American in theme but European in language, technique, and atmosphere, this novel about Norwegian emigration and settlement in South Dakota is considered an anomaly in American literature. It opens on the vast American plains and provides historical information about the Hansa family and the small Norwegian settlement's attempts to tame the wilderness. Yet everything about the novel is Norwegian; it is Norwegian **in spirit, idiom**, myth, religion, traditions, and, above all, imagery. All the imagery reveals the Nordic thought processes and explanations. Per Hansa, the protagonist of the novel, relies on his instincts and the experiences he acquired from the old and tried Norwegian sailor-fishermen. He uses the sailor's instincts to guide him through storms, find his way in the wilderness, and save his life at times when it would have been humanly impossible to do so. The fish, boat, net, rope, and sailing images are utilized to describe Hansa's land activities.

Taming the wilderness proves to be a task for strong willed and determined people. Per Hansa is that natural pioneer who sees promise in the rich virgin soil of the Dakotas. Standing like a giant, he conquers the land and refuses to be subdued by the great plains with their expansive and

dreary skies, their winds, blizzards, fires, tornadoes, snows, and locusts. His resilience is a testimony of the great spirit which refused to be conquered by nature and its adversities.

There are three main conflicts in this novel: 1) Hansa vs. the environment; 2) Hansa vs. other men; and 3) Hansa vs. his wife. By wresting food from the land and working well with men, Per Hansa is able to resolve the first two conflicts. It is the third conflict which ironically destroys him, and it is this conflict which gives the novel its dramatic and psychological strength. Per Hansa's wife, Beret, is unable to adjust to the primitive mode of living, and she therefore hungers for the old ways and for the homeland. Hence, because of her failure as a pioneer, she becomes a recluse and goes through intermittent fits of depression. Her first child, born out of wedlock several years prior to their emigration, becomes a living reminder of her sin. She therefore turns to religion to find solace and gradually becomes obsessed with guilt, expiation, and atonement.

Her religious zeal ironically induces the final tragic scene. In order to appease her, Per Hansa sets out to bring a priest so that Tonseten, the hopelessly sick old neighbor, may observe the final rites. Per Hansa is swallowed by the storm, and his body is not discovered until the spring thaw arrives.

His death is indeed ironic. Beret had the physical strength to survive the hardships of life, yet she lacked the intellectual and emotional strength to adjust to the strange environment. Per Hansa had both physical as well as emotional strength--yet it was he who died at the end. The man who displayed the power of conquest is finally offered to the wilderness so that its spirit may be appeased. This becomes Rolvaag's reflection on the gloomy fatalism of the Nordic mind.

Appearing serially in the socialist weekly newspaper "Appeal to Reason," Upton Sinclair's novel The Jungle soon became a sensational piece of literature. An ardent supporter of the socialist movement, Sinclair believed himself to be instrumental in championing the cause of the poor working masses; his purpose was to end poverty in America and to educate the working class that "they had the right to a better life."⁴ Through his Lithuanian family, he shows how moral, physical, spiritual, and social degradation reduces mankind to the level of beasts. Unlike the real jungle which gives its species the chance to fight for their existence, the human jungle is atrocious, merciless, devastating, and above all, void of human love and compassion.

Jurgis, the protagonist of the novel, is the son of a Lithuanian peasant. He travels to America with his betrothed, her immediate family, and other close friends. At first Jurgis believes that the promise of riches is within his grasp. Each able bodied member of the family secures a job, and the family purchases a house. Soon, however, the calamities of injury, disease, death, and hunger strike. In quick suc^cession the family loses its home and is broken up by desertion.

Packingtown (the stockyards and vicinity as referred to by Sinclair), is the place where immigrants worked, lived, and died. It is overshadowed by the ominous clouds of graft, political corruption, and human deprivation. These immigrants, because of their inability to speak and read English, are easily exploited and victimized by human predators such as foremen, police, bosses, pimps, and fellow immigrants. It is a world ruled by the strong for the strong. It is a world where women are sexually abused and coerced to turn to prostitution in order to support their hungry families. Perhaps the most poignant statement made by Sinclair in regards to the predator-

prey relationship of this human jungle is uttered by Marija, the close family friend who turned to prostitution in order to support Elzbeita and her young children. When Jurgis finally locates her at a brothel, the following dialogue ensues:

"All over. I've been hoboing it. Then I went back to the yards--just before the strike." He paused for a moment, hesitating. "I asked for you," he added. "I found you had gone away, no one knew where. Perhaps you think I did you a dirty trick, running away as I did, Marija--"

"No," she answered, "I don't blame you. We never have--any of us." She paused a moment, then added: "We were too ignorant--that was the trouble. We didn't stand a chance. If I'd known what I know now we'd have won out."

Like Sinclair's book, Thomas Bell's novel Out of This Furnace depicts the plight of immigrant blue collar workers. However, unlike Sinclair's plot, this book about the laborers of the Braddock and Homestead, Pennsylvania steel mills is based on the lives of real people. Starting with George Kratcha, a Slovakian immigrant who arrives in Pennsylvania in 1881, this autobiographical novel traces in documentary style the lives of three generations. It shows how the tenacity and determination of the younger generations to seek better working conditions through the organization of labor and collective bargaining pays off.

The following are cited as examples to illustrate the positive attitudinal changes which the second and third generation steel mill laborers undergo. Kratcha, representing the 1880 first wave Slovakian immigrant laborers, worked for the steel corporations and was grateful for the meager wages he received. At no time does he or his co-laborers entertain the notion of asking for a change in the twelve-hour-seven-day-work-week or for safe working conditions. Twenty years later, Mihal, representing the first generation immigrant stock, expresses his discontent in the following:

He shook his head...."There was a time when I thought I'd surely get a good job sometime. I worked hard. I did what I was told and more. And I've seen them hire Irish, Johnny Bulls, Scotties,

just off the boat and knowing no more about a steelmill than Mikie there, and in a year they're giving me orders. Not once or twice but many times. And I've been working in those furnaces for over twenty years. I know my job, Marcha. I could take over that furnace tomorrow and make as good iron as Keough ever did. But I'm a Hunky and they don't give good jobs to Hunkies. God damn their souls to hell.... We can do nothing. Nothing. We can't even open our mouths. Even a dog is allowed to howl when he's kicked, but we? We have to carry it inside ourselves until it tastes so bitter we want to vomit. But blessed God, a man can hold only so much and one of these days they'll learn it. Someday, Marcha--" He held out a clenched fist.⁵

From a mere expression of disgust and resentment to the awful conditions of work and life, twenty-five year old Dobie, representing the second generation American-born, American-educated (elementary and trade school) generation, could, in the 1920's, proudly boast the following to his maternal grandfather, George Kratcha:

'We've come a long way, eh? When somebody like me can walk into the Superintendent's office and talk about unions. They didn't do such things when you were in the mills. But times have changed.' He added in English, 'It's too much for him.'⁶

Bell's book is rich with documented accounts of accidents, strikes, graft, collective bargaining, and all the other social iniquities and injustices which accompany progress in a society that is ill equipped to handle such great social, economic, and industrial changes. Interlaced with these historic facts are the familial cross generational bonds which are delicately and realistically presented to the reader.

The greatness of Out of This Furnace lies in its ability to portray the plight of the Slovak immigrant prior to and after coming to America. That they were a simple, submissive, religiously oriented, and oppressed people in their homeland made them fair game in a land whose language and customs they were not familiar with. What was most difficult and painful for them was

That hostility, that contempt, epitomized in the epithet "Hunky,"....

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responsible government agencies closed their doors and refused to assist the widow and her children. Geremio's twelve year old son Paul, the protagonist of the novel, assumes the responsibility of providing for his pregnant mother and six younger brothers and sisters.

Carrying his father's trowel and the tools of the trade, Paul convinces the foreman to hire him to work on "Job." This tenacious "bricklayer in diapers" very quickly learns the trade and, as diDonato describes his own experiences through Paul, he triumphantly tells his mother "Mother I am twelve...with men I have competed and laid brick the long day."⁸

The plot of this novel is subordinate to the theme. With Geremio's death is set the tone of the novel. Chapters two and three are appropriately entitled "Job" and "Tenement." "Job," the name applied interchangeably to the building site and the work itself, is represented as a dominant and oppressive symbol throughout the novel. "Job" becomes a phallic symbol representing the dominance of the rich over the poor and the strong over the weak. The livelihood of the laborers and their families depend on "Job," yet the nature of the work on the high edifices is fraught with danger. his uncle lose their feet, and others like Paul witnessed men like/the kind-hearted Nazone fall off a scaffold and get shattered in fragments of human sinews and bone grotesquely scattered on the hard concrete pavement. These passages are full of implicit satire on child labor, the poor working conditions, and the lack of societal safeguards.

The brightest segment of the novel is the chapter under the title of "Fiesta." In spite of the anguish-filled animal-like lives of these manual laborers, this chapter is full of light hearted and comical behavior richly echoed in the lyrical conversations and ethnic colloquialisms of this ethnic group. An Italian wedding is an important communal affair, and as such diDonato portrays it with the fervor and gusto fully typical of the Mediterranean public display of feelings.

There are two obvious biblical allusions in this novel, the first of which deals with the Christ figure. Like Christ, Geremio is killed on Good Friday and his body is raised out of the debris on Sunday. The second allusion has to do with the biblical Job. The interplay between "Job" as work and the work site on the one hand, and the biblical Job on the other, reinforces the notion that there is a ^{Christ} suffering in the lives of these laborers. This life, there, ^{FOR} is one of suffering; it is through Paul's cry of anguish that we hear this theme: "O God above, what world and country are we in? We didn't mean to be wrong...Unfair! Unfair! -- Our lives -- unfair!"⁹

The rewards for these laborers, as taught by the church, were in the next world: "In the next world is our salvation."¹⁰

The last of these fictional works, James Farrell's trilogy Studs Lonigan, depicts a third generation immigrant Irish Catholic Chicago neighborhood. Through the behavior and activities of Studs Lonigan, the young Irish Catholic teenager, Farrell satirizes the bigoted pseudo-intellectual, pseudo-religious environment which greatly affects the lives and values of the urban working middle class.

The events of the novel are sandwiched between the WWI era and the depression years. The setting encompasses all of Studs' stomping grounds; the back alleys, beaches, poolrooms, vacant lots, soda fountains, school yards, dance halls, club houses, and the like. More than any of the aforementioned novels, this novel zeroes in on the ethnic urban neighborhood and accurately describes the racial, religious, and ethnic tensions. Through the bigoted sentiments of his father and the radio preacher young Studs is constantly made aware of the Jewish and black neighborhoods. These two groups, along with the socialists, become the scapegoat for all the social, moral, and economic ills of the country.

The trilogy is divided into three books: Young Lonigan, The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan, and Judgement Day.

The first book is set for June 1916 on the eve of Studs' graduation from a parochial junior high school and is carried out over a five month period. The opening scene sets the tone for the whole novel; the priest's indoctrinating graduation address and the parents' spiritual naivete and shallowness are strong forces on Studs. The lifestyle he chooses is that of a rebellious youngster who scorns learning and moral values. Life in this first segment seems to hold all the promises a person could wish for. However, Studs defiantly spurns these opportunities.

The second book spans from April 1917 through January 1929. Studs has dropped out of school and tries to join the army. He succeeds at neither, and finally ends up on his father's house painting crew. He graduates from the football field and neighborhood backyards to the back alleys and smoke filled poolrooms. The rebellious youngster of the first book turns into a bellicose man who recognizes no behavioral limitations and whose lack of restraints on his excessive physical appetites helps bring about his downfall.

The last book, appropriately titled Judgement Day, is set in the 1931 post depression era, and it covers the last six months of Studs Lonigan's life. The world seems to close in on the thirty year old protagonist. Not only is his fiancée (a girl he does not love) pregnant, but he has lost all his savings and his job in the big crash. The excessive drinking, smoking, and other abuses he had imposed on his body are now catching up with him. His final bout with life was with a severe case of pneumonia, and judgement day for him ends in the same manner that he had lived his life. Studs' death is pathetic rather than tragic. Although he undergoes a certain

amount of maturation in his last days, Studs does not experience much emotional, spiritual, or intellectual growth.

James Farrell seems to be stating that the four major urban forces of home, school, church, and the playground have failed to change Studs' life. Instead of nurturing him and providing him with the proper life-sustaining values, these conservative, provincial, repressive, and anti-intellectual institutions were the constrictive forces which contributed to Studs Lonigan's failure in life.

Although the above does not cover all the angles of teaching the immigrant experience in American literature, it does provide a sound and comprehensive model. The literary works in this model need not be taught in this order or format; there are many other excellent literary works which could be utilized. The basic themes of struggle, boarding houses, tenements, success, failure, superstitions, sickness, death, and political, social, and economic struggles are a part of this typically American immigrant experience.

The themes of these novels provide answers to the significance of time and space in immigrant history. More importantly, however, these themes become telling facts about the relational dimensions which contribute to change and development and their effect on the world in which one lives. Hence, the interlacing of the three dimensional historical, cultural, and relational approach lends itself to a better appreciation and understanding of the Immigrant Experience in American Literature.

APPENDIX A

A THREE DIMENSIONAL MODEL FOR THE TEACHING OF
THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

- I. Historical, Experiential, and Reading Dimension
 - A. Studying historical, social, and cultural milieu.
 - B. Enrichment activities involving out-of-class activities.
 - C. Reading, interpreting, and discussing the fictional works.
- II. The Dimension of Thoughts, Behaviours, and Cultural Expressions
 - A. Studying thoughts and ideas.
 - B. Studying behaviours and activities.
 - C. Cultural expression (lasting values of institutions, the arts, language, and literature).
- III. Relational Dimension
 - A. Relationship of man to fellow man.
 - B. Relationship of man to himself.
 - C. Relationship of man to institutions (church, society, government, labor unions, etc.).

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Carl R. Brown. "Toward a Theory of Biculturalism, and Teaching English." Paper presented at Conference on English Education, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March, 1978, p. 158.
- 2 Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, New York: McMillan Publishing Company, 1973, p. XXIX.
- 3 Marie Hall, Ed. Rosa: The Life of an Italian Immigrant, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970, p. V.
- 4 Upton Sinclair, The Jungle, New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1960, p. V.
- 5 Thomas Bell, Out of This Furnace, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976, p. 185.
- 6 Ibid., p. 321.
- 7 Pietro diDonato, Christ in Concrete, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939, p. 104.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 170. 291.
- 9 Ibid., p. 296.